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ABSTRACT

This report discusses policies that guide housing for students on college and university campuses in matters that concern relations among status groups based on ethnic, religious, racial, and sexual backgrounds and orientations. The issue of self-segregation has emerged as a crucial one to many colleges as enrollment of minorities has increased. Although self-segregation does not start or stop at the door of the college residence hall, housing arrangements play a significant role in promoting or deterring interaction, dialogue, and friendship. There are several views of how a university can best foster a pluralistic campus. The first approach, the Integration Model, stresses the importance of interaction between people of different races, religions, ethnicities, and creeds. The second approach, the Multicultural Model, emphasizes a plurality of cultures and values, as well as the importance of recognizing diversity. The third approach acknowledges the merits of both the integration and multicultural models, but this model, the Diversity within Unity Model, strives for a society of layered loyalties in which people have allegiance to their particular subgroups and to the greater society in which they live. Some examples of each of these models in practice illustrate strengths and shortcomings of each. The integration model appears to be too confining in practice, and the multicultural model seems to be too polarizing. Integrating housing at universities where there is a demand for self-segregated residence halls can be expected to exacerbate tensions without curtailing separatism. The diversity within unity model appears most likely to preserve cultural identities while fostering better intergroup relations. (Contains 44 endnotes.) (SLD)

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HOUSING ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES:

Self-Segregation, Integration, and Other Alternatives

A COMMUNITARIAN REPORT

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BY

MICHAEL BOCIAN*

May, 1997

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*Amitai Etzioni, Founder and Director of The Communitarian Network, made significant contributions in the development of this report.

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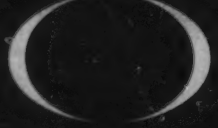

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Self-Segregation, Integration, and Other Alternatives

A COMMUNITARIAN REPORT

BY

MICHAEL BOCIAN*

May, 1997

* Amitai Etzioni, Founder and Director of The Communitarian Network, made significant contributions in the development of this report.

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HOUSING ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES: SELF-SEGREGATION, INTEGRATION, AND OTHER ALTERNATIVES

INTRODUCTION

The issue of housing on college campuses has placed many university administrators in a difficult predicament. As various racial, ethnic, and religious groups request their own residential spaces or establish de facto self-segregation, university officials have been forced to decide between allowing these groups of students to live in a segregated environment, albeit a self-imposed one, or insisting that students live in residential units where they are exposed to people of different backgrounds. This report will examine the policies that guide housing for students on college and university campuses in matters that concern relations among status groups based on ethnic, religious, racial and sexual backgrounds and orientations, among others. The report is concerned with determining the effects of different housing policies and in identifying which are most compatible with a communitarian society. It explores the implications of these policy decisions on social education on the college campus as well as on society at large.

Starting with first-year students who live on campus, many universities use some criteria to assign rooms, so roommates are not selected completely randomly. The report will differentiate between two types of criteria: *personal preferences* and *status criteria*. Even universities that randomly assign roommates through computer programs consider such *personal preferences* as whether a person smokes, stays up late at night, or keeps the room neat. *Status criteria* refer to factors such as race, ethnicity, religion, or sexual preference. This study concerns mainly status criteria rather than personal preferences.

After a student's first year, many universities offer some choice in student housing. Some universities permit students to select a group of companions with whom to enter a room lottery. (Limits regarding the number of people in a cluster vary.) Choosing one's roommates does not necessarily, result in self-segregation. Still other universities permit students to use status criteria to determine their housing. Usually, this takes the form of "program houses," such as a

criteria to determine their housing. Usually, this takes the form of "program houses," such as a residence hall for African-American students or the study of African-American culture and history.

Housing policy decisions at universities are also influenced by the reality that universities are, to some extent, service organizations that need to satisfy their customers—students and their parents. If students and parents do not support the university's housing policies, they can "take their business elsewhere," either by living off-campus (if permitted by the university) or by choosing a different university. Universities, therefore, are influenced in housing decisions not only by educational, social, and normative considerations but also by business concerns.

Out of this complex web of housing policies, the issue of self-segregation has emerged as a critical one to many colleges. As enrollment of minorities has increased at colleges and universities, signs of self-segregation have become more apparent partly because there are more minority students to form distinct groups. Increasingly, groups are segregating into racial, ethnic, and religious residential enclaves on campuses, whether it be the all-white fraternity, or the African-American, Latino, Asian-American, Native-American, Jewish, or homosexual program house.

More broadly, the issue of housing on college campuses reflects a much more encompassing debate about whether to maintain cultural group identities and particularities or to create an "American Creed," in the words of the Swedish observer of American society, Gunnar Myrdal. Some commentators have argued that the college campus is simply a reflection of society, and ask: Why should college campuses be any different from outside society which exhibits racial, religious, and ethnic separatism and segregation? Others believe that the college campus has the potential to be different; the campus need not be a reflection of societal norms, but can be a leader in encouraging integration. College students are at least partially united by common activities and school camaraderie. Furthermore, the college campus is the training ground for the nation's future decision makers. Author Dinesh D'Souza explains the importance of the university in this debate:

> Universities were once thought a microcosm of society. But they are more than a reflection or a mirror; they are a leading indicator. The campus environment is one where students live, eat, and study together, with the result that racial and cultural differences come together in the closest possible way. Of all American institutions, perhaps only the military brings people of such different backgrounds into more intimate contact. Moreover, university leaders are embarked on a conscious project to shape students into future leaders of an increasingly multicultural community. Consequently, the American campus becomes a very useful test case for institutional and social policies that draw racial groups together—or pry them apart; that promote integration—or separatism; that foster ethnic collegiality and harmony—or isolation and bitterness.[1]

Although self-segregation does not start or stop at the door of the college residence hall, housing arrangements play a significant role in promoting or deterring interaction, dialogue, and friendship. This study will examine two competing views and additional alternatives concerning how university and college housing policies can best foster a pluralistic campus—a campus that attends to the needs and interests of the diverse parts of an encompassing and inclusive community. Also at stake is the question of what it means to be an American in an increasingly diverse society. The models presented offer different views of the college campus and of American society. It should be noted that the colleges we use as examples are not "pure types" of the visions described below, but mixtures that are influenced not only by the approach under which they have been described, but by other factors as well.

• Advocates of the first model—the *Integration Model*—stress the importance of interaction between people of different races, religions, ethnicities, and creeds. Many of them are the children of the 1960s civil rights movement and its emphasis on achieving equality by bringing people of different backgrounds together to form a single community. According to the integration model, colleges and universities should strive to create a society that sees people not as members of groups, but as individuals.

• Advocates of the second model—the *Multicultural Model*—emphasize a plurality of cultures and values, as well as the importance of recognizing diversity. Many of them are the offspring of the identity politics movement, suggesting that groups who have been oppressed

and have been victims of prejudice can best gain influence in the dominant society by concentrating their power. From this perspective, colleges and universities should acknowledge and promote diversity, allowing different groups to flourish by maintaining and nourishing their rich and distinct cultures.

• The third model acknowledges the merits of both the integration and multicultural models. But this model—the *Diversity* Within Unity Model—strives for a society of "layered loyalties," in which people have allegiance both to their particular subgroups and to the greater society in which they live. Those who hold this view contend that people can maintain and nourish their distinct cultural heritages, while simultaneously fostering a greater community with shared values and commitments. They argue that colleges and universities should allow subgroups to live and learn in their own communities, but be bound to other groups through interactive efforts.

This report examines these models as they relate to campus housing policies, although they have implications for society beyond the campus as well. The former president of Cornell University, Frank Rhodes, put the challenge in the following manner: "We face an unresolved conflict between the natural impulse toward proud separate racial and ethnic identity on the one hand, and genuine desire, on the other, for meaningful integration that transcends differences of background."[2] America's challenge to give shape and form to a nation of shared values and common commitments is particularly important at a time where we have seen extreme examples of factionally deteriorated countries, such as Yugoslavia, Lebanon and Somalia.

THE INTEGRATION MODEL

The integration model holds that the amalgamation of people with different beliefs and backgrounds creates a unified American identity. Those who hold this view believe that self-segregation will have the negative consequence of tribalizing society. Institutionalized separatism—for our case, in the form of self-segregated housing—amplifies racial divisions and

tensions. John Ford, dean of students at Cornell University, remarked, "What is happening [with self-segregated housing] is incompatible with what a majority of administrators would like to see....[C]ollege should be a place where there is mutual respect, friendships, a chance to learn from one another, studying in teams, harmony in the classroom, and residence halls."[3] The college campus should be an arena of interaction; this is hindered by self-segregated housing.

According to studies by the National Study of Student Learning and by Troy Duster of the University of California, Berkeley, both fraternities and self-segregated program houses fail to expose students to as broad a spectrum of campus diversity as do randomly assigned residence halls. Fraternities tend to be more homogenous than residence halls in terms of race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation.[4] Furthermore, studies show that during the first year of college, fraternity and sorority members make significantly smaller gains than do nonmembers on measures of openness to diversity.[5] Similarly, Troy Duster, a sociologist at the University of California, Berkeley, found that "ethnic enclaves" encouraged by universities engender polarization among racial groups.[6]

The integration model calls for random room assignment, with the hope that random assignment will reflect the natural mix of the student body. Integration will, in turn, expose students to the diversity of the college's population. The integration model, however, does not strive to erase the cultural particularities of various subgroups, and thus, does allow for some forms of what might be deemed self-segregation. A USA *Today* editorial suggests,

> In some cases—notably language immersion [where international students are initially put in a residential setting with others who speak their language to ease their transition]—isolation makes sense. So, too, do academic centers where students with common interests can meet to exchange ideas. But as campus officials allot each group its own little island, exclusion threatens to replace inclusion. It makes little difference whether the group lives in an all-white fraternity house or an all-black residence hall. When groups run from each other rather than learn from each other, something important is lost.[7]

Advocates of the integration model stress that college is the ideal setting in which to bring together people of different backgrounds because the diversity found on campuses is less

present elsewhere in society. Furthermore, students on a college campus share classes, meals, residences, and a common commitment to education. What is more, the integrationists argue, colleges provide a rather civil environment that promotes intergroup relations. Constance Horner, a George Bush appointee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, remarks that the college campus is "absolutely the best place to instill the integration ideal and the practice of living together. These kids are supposed to be the leaders, and if they can't do it in [the campus] environment, how will they do it in the much tougher work environment?"[8]

In a larger sense, integrationists contend that in order for Americans to live a shared experience, they must relate to each other as individuals, rather than as racial, ethnic, or religious groups. This does not mean that cultural particularities should be eroded, but that individuals must come together to share in a common culture. It is only by translating diversity into unity—that is, by bringing people of different races, religions, and ethnicities to the same table—that America can continue to be one nation. Integrationists carry the banner of *E Pluribus unum*—the many shall turn into one. In his book *The Disuniting of America*, historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. explains: "The United States had a brilliant solution for the inherent fragility of a multiethnic society: the creation of a brand-new national identity, carried forward by individuals who, in forsaking old loyalties and joining to make new lives, melted away ethnic differences."[9]

At Harvard University, most students did not live in college housing until the 1930s, when President A. Lawrence Lowell developed a residential house system, in which communities of sophomores, juniors, and seniors would live together on campus in residential houses. Each house was a collection of residence halls where students would live for their final three years at the university. The idea was that the houses would enhance the educational life of the college by bringing together students of different backgrounds and engaging them in regular contact with tutors and faculty. Lowell rejected the idea of free choice of houses by students, with the following rationale: 'If the young men entering college were allowed to choose their Houses, those coming from the same school, or from schools of the same type and from similar early

surroundings, would naturally select the same House; and thus there would be a segregation among the Houses on the basis of origin—certainly a most unfortunate one."[10] Lowell wanted each house to be, as nearly as possible, a cross-section of the university.[11]

When the house system was initiated in 1930, live-in directors, called masters, selected the residents on the basis of applications and interviews. By the 1950s, a variation of today's problem had emerged, as administrators began to worry about splits between students from private and public high schools. In 1971, the university shifted from the interview system to a system where housing assignments were based on student preference and on deans' efforts at achieving diversity.[12]

In 1995, Harvard administrators announced that the system would change to random assignment of houses. A random lottery would determine which houses student would to reside in, though students could still choose a group of no more than 16 students with whom to live in the randomly assigned houses. In announcing the change, then-dean of Harvard College L. Fred Jewett explained that "in recent years our assignment system had allowed some of the Houses to move considerably away from the ideal of broad representativeness, which is a key part of the educational experience at Harvard."[13]

The recent change has not been accepted without some hostility from students and alumni. Many members of the Harvard community feel that the free choice house system has built house pride and made the campus more comfortable for minorities, homosexuals, and others. They protest that the random system will deprive the houses of the personality that enriches Harvard's residential life. Furthermore, some minority students, many of whom have clustered in certain houses, worry that the new system will erode their presence on campus. Jared McKinney, then a junior, believes that there is a tension between "minority marginalization and racial polarization."[14] McKinney argues that blacks will lose the comfort of numbers, as they become absorbed into nearly all-white houses.

Ultimately, Dean Jewett announced that while he would have preferred to find a solution that preserved the element of choice students desire, "the educational values of maintaining House communities which substantially represent the breadth and talents of the College population, outweighed other considerations."[15] Harvard University is committed to maintaining the new system for at least three years in order to determine if the random assignment will produce the desired benefits.

THE MULTICULTURAL MODEL

Multiculturalists argue that without their subgroup identity, minorities will be subsumed under the hegemony of the dominant culture. By promoting program houses for African Americans, Native Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and other groups, universities and colleges bolster the campuses' diversity by lending resonance to the presence of minorities. Speaking at a rally against Cornell University's proposal to prohibit first-year students from living in program houses, Al Sharpton accused the Cornell administration of indirectly attempting to dilute minority presence on campus. He mocked the university's plan as conveying the message, "We want more blacks and Latinos on campus; we just want them to merge with everyone else so we don't know they're here."[16] Underlying Sharpton's remarks is the idea that because their numbers are fewer and their power less, minority students cannot achieve equality without concentrating their presence and power along lines of subgroup identity.

Furthermore, multiculturalists argue that program houses allow ethnic, racial, religious, and homosexual groups to explore their cultural heritages. At many universities, the program houses are tied to academic disciplines or centers, or are based on the study of such topics. For example, at Wesleyan University, the Malcolm X House stands adjacent to the university's Center for African American Studies, and was created, according to a housing brochure, to provide "a place where African and African American students could explore and sustain their cultural heritage."[17] In response to criticisms that program houses engender separatism, Evelyn

Hu-Dehart, director of the Center for Studies of Ethnicity and Race in America at the University of Colorado-Boulder, argues that the language of these critics "invokes a period of the past when people were not allowed to associate with others. These campus groups are voluntary associations. In many ways they enrich the campus. They don't just socialize and have dances, but also put on lots of cultural and educational programs."[18] By encouraging groups to study their cultural heritages, multiculturalists argue, program houses augment campus diversity.

Proponents of the multicultural model maintain that program houses do not preclude intergroup interaction, nor are they necessarily forms of separatism or segregation. James E. Turner, founder of the African Studies and Research Center, illustrates this view: "African American students interact with other people as the occasions arise and as they choose. This is true of white students, as well as Asian-American, Latino, Jewish, female, and gay students. None of these groups is an island unto itself."[19] Even when students live with others who share similar heritages, they continue to interact with others in different ways, through classes or extracurricular activities. Furthermore, multiculturalists insist that self-segregated houses are not completely segregating because each house contains a certain breadth of diversity within itself. For instance, Asian-American houses contain people of Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese descent, as well as many other nationalities, all of whom possess different linguistic, cultural, and historical particularities.

Multiculturalists contend that students have a certain need for a comfort zone where they can be with people who share their experiences. "Instead of asking why are blacks separating from whites at white college campuses," William H. Gray III, president of the United Negro College Fund, observes, "we should be asking, what is wrong with white America and its institutions that blacks don't feel welcome?"[20] Gray's point is illuminated by the remarks of Ramona Connors, a 1993 graduate of Cornell who lived in Akwe:kon (pronounced "a-gway-go"), and said of the house, "It's a place where they don't always have to explain what it's like to be Indian."[21] Those in favor of program houses argue that minority students who devote much of their energies to assimilating into the dominant culture of their campus benefit from

the positive environment of a residential support group. Studies show that black students who live with black roommates and who belong to African-American organizations graduate at higher rates than those who do not.[22]

More broadly, champions of the multicultural model profess that a viable pluralist society depends on the recognition and preservation of society's subgroups. Political scientist Amy Gutmann explains the multiculturalist view that "recognizing and treating members of some groups as equals now seems to require public institutions to acknowledge rather than ignore cultural particularities, at least for those people whose self-understanding depends on the vitality of their culture."[23] What is significant here is that the multiculturalist model focuses not on the shared values between various subgroups, but on the specific identification and nourishment of certain subgroups' heritages by public institutions. For the college campus, this means that the university ought to specially address the needs of certain subgroups, rather than merely treat the subgroups as members of a larger entity. Equality is thus predicated on subgroup identity, rather than on indifference, individuality, or inclusion in a greater, equitable whole.

The issue of self-segregated housing has been most hotly debated and publicized at Cornell University. In the wake of a few years of racial tensions at Cornell, which culminated in the 1969 armed takeover of the main student union building by black students, the black program house, Ujamma, was established in 1972. Later, other program houses were developed, including ones organized around American-Indian and Latino themes, as well as "discipline" houses emphasizing ecology, music, and foreign languages.

Cornell currently maintains 10 program houses, containing about 1,026 of the university's 13,000 undergraduate students, of whom fewer than half live on campus. Approximately 1.4 percent of students and 3.5 percent of those living on campus live in the three racially- or ethnically-based houses (for black, Latino, and American-Indian themes). Nine percent of Cornell's minority undergraduates live in the three theme houses.[24] Although these figures seem

rather low, self-segregation takes other forms as well; for example, the majority of minority students at Cornell choose to live in the northern region of campus.

Cornell students who decide to live on campus rank their housing preferences—either program houses or their top choices for buildings and areas of campus in which they want to live—and the university tries to accommodate preferences using a randomized computer system. In 1991, a group of alumni and students conducted a study at the request of university administrators that determined that 64 percent of minority students who lived on campus had chosen to live in the North Campus, where most of the program houses are located, while only 21 percent had chosen to live in the West Campus. Fearing that the campus was becoming segregated, the group that conducted the study proposed a system of random housing assignments for the next year for first-year students, exempting those who selected program houses. After vociferous protest from minority students and faculty, the group retreated from its proposal.[25]

In 1993, gay and lesbian students at Cornell proposed that 60 rooms be set aside in a residence hall for students interested in exploring the history and culture of homosexuality. Despite winning support in the Student Assembly, the proposal was rejected by then-president Frank Rhodes. Rhodes vetoed the plan, explaining that he had "the deepest reservation about the increasing tendency within the campus to define ourselves in terms of groups or factions."[26] Rhodes argued that he would reject similar requests from any racial, ethnic, religious, or special-interest group, until the effects of the program houses had been further studied.

In 1994, the New York State Civil Rights Coalition filed a complaint against Cornell, alleging that the three program houses designed for ethnic minorities violated state civil rights laws. Michael Meyers, executive director of the Coalition, claimed that Cornell officials violated civil rights laws by "acceding to the demands of black students for a separate dorm, and to similar demands from Latino students for their dorm."[27] In 1995, Cornell was absolved of this allegation when New York state commissioner of education, Thomas Sobol, ruled that the program houses were not exclusive on the basis of race, color, or natural origin.[28]

The issue of self-segregated housing reignited in 1996 when Cornell University President Hunter Rawlings proposed that first-year students be prohibited from living in program houses. After intensive protest against the proposal, which included a hunger strike by some students, Rawlings announced that the decision regarding whether first-year students could live in the program houses would be postponed until the 1996-97 school year. Defenders of Cornell's program houses argue that Rawlings' stated goals—exposing first-year students to the full breadth of the university's diversity—are compatible with permitting first-year students to live in the program houses. James Turner, a professor at Cornell, maintains that "it must be recognized that African Americans are a community with shared experiences and common objectives," and that the program houses provide minorities with an opportunity to explore their common interests while continuing to interact with others.[29]

In protesting Rawlings' plan, students argued that since first-year students compose half of all people living in program houses, the proposal would essentially eliminate program houses. Professor Thomas Hirschl, one of the faculty members living in the Latino house, believes that the program houses are most effective in helping minority students because they offer first-year students the experience of living with and learning from upperclassmen. Tied by ethnic bonds, Hirschl explains, the first-year students work harder and drink less, and have the comfort of being cared for by upperclassmen who share their cultural identities and traditions. The benefits of program houses appear to be borne out, according to Jane Mt. Pleasant, director of the American Indian Program, who credits the Akwe:kon House, which is centered on American-Indian life, with maintaining graduation rates among residents at 80 percent, as compared with 10 to 30 percent among Native-American students at other schools.[30]

Although the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill (UNC) maintains no program houses like those at Cornell (based on racial or ethnic themes), the campus exhibits de facto segregation. Incoming first-year students at UNC rank their preferences for housing in the campus' three regions. They are then assigned rooms at random by a random computerized system that takes into account their regional preferences. Because the black community has

traditionally congregated in the southern region of campus, students and faculty often encouraged incoming black first-year students to request this region as their first preference. Consequently, the Southern region (which contains 45 percent of all students) is composed of 52.6 percent black students.

Assistant Director of Housing Rick Bradley believes that this de facto segregation of the campus has allowed students to live in areas of campus where they feel most supported.[31] Much like the program houses, this system provides minority students with the comfort of numbers that they ordinarily do not enjoy with random housing assignment systems. But the system has its drawbacks: Rodney Sanders, a black student at UNC, explains that his "entire campus experience so far after finishing one year has been black people, black experiences, and nothing more."[32] Some fear that the self-segregation on campus has led to divisiveness. UNC has experienced racial tensions over the last five years ranging from criticism of a sculpture depicting a white student holding books while a black student holds a basketball as racist, to more major racial disputes, including debate over the proposal to create a free-standing black cultural center.[33] It is not entirely clear what role de facto segregation played in these racial tensions, nor is it clear if the positive effects of providing a supportive place for minority students outweigh the ramifications of separatism possibly caused by segregation.

Integration First Approach

Some universities have employed a system that mixes the integrationist and multiculturalist models. One such approach proposes that first-year students be assigned rooms on a random basis in order to foster interaction between groups, but allows self-segregated housing after the first year. In proposing this approach at his university, Cornell president Hunter Rawlings believes that "new students arriving at Cornell should have an experience that demonstrates that they are entering an academic community, first and foremost."[34] When students enter program houses as first-year students, they fail to give integration an opportunity to succeed. Rawlings

argues that "there is much to be said for insuring that all first-year students have shared experiences that expose them to the breadth of intellectual, social and cultural opportunities."[35]

Although the integration first model favors random housing for first-year students, if integration does not succeed, then students are allowed to self-segregate after their first year. Therefore, students are likely to be exposed to a racially and ethnically mixed group of students in their first year, but gain the peer support of living with others like them in subsequent years.

While supporters of the integration first approach claim that it gives integration a chance, but recognizes the need for group identity, its critics argue that it suffers from the negative effects of both the multicultural model and the integration model. First-year students, they stress, are the ones who most need the comfort of being with others like themselves.

THE DIVERSITY WITHIN UNITY MODEL

When dealing with the issue of self-segregated housing, universities often confront the issue as a debate between the integration model and the multicultural model. The following section offers an alternative approach that attempts to transcend this dichotomy. This model is the diversity within unity model, which allows students to self-segregate in their housing arrangements, but insists on interactive activities, both in and out of the classroom.

The diversity within unity model permits program houses and other forms of self-segregation, but argues that interactive efforts should be initiated to bring students together to explore their common bonds and shared commitments. Martha Minow of Harvard Law School comments that the goal of higher education should be to "build academic communities in which people learn to respect and value one another for their differences, while at the same time defining the values shared by all those who join the university as scholars and as citizens."[36]

Proponents of this position claim that wholesale condemnation of self-segregation is too simple-minded, failing to acknowledge the benefits group bonding affords. While self-

segregation should not be encouraged by universities, it should not be prohibited at universities where there is student demand for it. Troy Duster recognizes that "just as Jewish students have found Hillel and a common ethnic/cultural identity the basis for self-affirmation, so too do today's ethnic and racial 'minorities' often need to draw upon the social, cultural, and moral resources of their respective communities."[37] At the same time, however, as administrators try to increase minority enrollment and support racial and ethnic minorities with special programs, many university officials are beginning to perceive a need to bring together diverse groups of students, fearing that segregation is fraying the bonds of unity.[38]

Advocates of the diversity within unity model also suggest that merely placing different groups in the same residential facilities will not yield the intended consequences of mitigating intergroup tension or fostering intergroup friendships. Sociological studies indicate that they may be correct. In the Robbers Cave Experiment during the 1950s, a group of sociologists brought two busloads of 11-year-old boys to a summer camp and strictly segregated the two groups for one week. During the week of living, eating, and recreating only with members of "their own group," each set of boys exhibited hostilities towards the other group after they recognized that they were sharing the camp's facilities with another group. After the counselors acceded to the boys' request for intergroup competition, animosity between the groups increased to the point where there were frequent verbal and physical altercations.

When the counselors tried to resolve the conflict through *intergroup contact*, such as eating meals together and watching movies together, the friction did not subside. Only after the counselors forced the boys to work for *superordinate* goals, such as overcoming a series of crises together, did the hostilities subside.[39] Studies of desegregated schools have also indicated that contact between black and white students does not reduce racial prejudice. Although these studies of young children are not perfect parallels for the college campus, they do indicate that interaction based on common goals will succeed more than intergroup contact, such as integrated housing, in developing meaningful diversity within a set of core values.

The difficult question that the diversity within unity approach must answer is how to forge such interaction. Some university administrators explain that programs imposed by the university tend to receive little interest from students. If programs are to be developed and sustained, they must be student-driven. While self-segregated programs have been expanding at many universities, there has been a dearth of efforts by student groups at these universities to unify. Universities face the dilemma of how to encourage, though not impose, interactive initiatives among students of different racial, ethnic, and religious groups. To my knowledge, no such efforts have been attempted on a large scale. This report offers a few minor examples of how this approach might take form, though other innovative and more thorough efforts would be valuable.

Diversity within unity can best be achieved by programs that bring students of different races, ethnicities, and religions together in cooperative activity. Since the university is first and foremost an institution of learning, the classroom is the primary setting to attain a framework of interaction and shared goals. Universities should put greater emphasis on cooperative learning in the classroom to foster student interaction. (When students are asked to break into small groups, the professors should assign the groups randomly.) Furthermore, classes that stress cooperative learning should be among universities' core curricula to increase the chances that students from different backgrounds interact in these close interpersonal settings.

But interaction needs to occur beyond the classroom as well. While student leadership is necessary for sustained interaction to take place, universities can sponsor programs that bring together students of different subgroups. Rope courses and outdoor action programs, for instance, unite students for group challenges. Urban action programs and other volunteer activities that bring together students for the common goal of community service provide another good example. These programs should be expanded to include more students.

It should be noted that the diversity within unity approach can be attained through integrated housing as well. In his study of housing on three college campuses, Will Koch found that integration-oriented housing policies can be enhanced by pro-active policies which employ

residential programming to bring students together in activities such as study breaks, academic programs, and social events.[40] By bringing students in an integrated residence hall together through residential programming, these pro-active policies attempt to increase the likelihood that an integrated residential policy will, in fact, result in true integration.

If integrated housing with residential programming helps attain unity among different groups on a campus, how can subgroups explore their cultures and heritages and benefit from the social and academic advantages of group bonding? While housing is integrated, campus organizations such as centers and clubs for subgroups are permitted. For example, groups such as the NAACP or Lesbian and Gay Awareness offer the supportive climate that some members of subgroups require.

Taking a wider view, The Communitarian Network's position paper, *The Community of Communities*, suggests that we need not decide between embracing diversity or suppressing it in the name of unity.[41] Instead of envisioning society as a melting pot, in which all groups would be assimilated into one homogenous American amalgam, or as a rainbow, in which various people of different colors would range next to one another, we should envision a *mosaic*. The mosaic illustrates a society in which various communities maintain their cultural traditions, while recognizing that they are integral parts of a greater American society with shared values, habits of the heart, and institutions. Journalist Lorenza Munoz counsels that "if we persistently focus on our obvious differences—like skin color and religion and origins—we will never be able to live together in one United States of America. The melting-pot concept is a myth, but we must learn to respect our differences and emphasize our common traits, or we will live in a polarized society."[42] While different religious traditions, for example, are an important aspect of diversity, a commitment to democracy and the Constitution are necessary parts of unity in American society. A plurality of traditions and identities enriches the nation, but different groups need to be tied to the larger American society in order to avoid factionalism.

Few, if any, campuses have achieved true models of the diversity within unity approach. A few universities at which self-segregation is prevalent have made some attempts at creating unity.

Wesleyan University has three types of houses that are considered program houses. The program houses, which house 10 percent of Wesleyan's student body, are in most cases small housing units or floors of residence halls. There are four ethnocultural houses: Malcolm X House for African-American students, La Casa House for Latino students, Bayit House for Jewish students, and Asian/Asian-American House. In addition, there are 16 interest houses, including a house for gay and lesbian students, a house for women of color, and language houses. There are also affinity houses, created on an annual basis, for students who wish to live with others who share similar interests.

During the 1995-96 school year the program houses were the source of much campus debate, when a few nonblack students were placed in the Malcolm X House. After a week of intense protest and debate, during which it became clear that the black community opposed the inclusion of white students in the Malcolm X House, the university asked the white students to switch rooms with black students who were not living in the program house. The turmoil dissipated when the students agreed to the change, but Wesleyan officials expect the issue of program houses to be a major topic of discussion in the 1996-97 school year.[43]

With the relatively high level of self-segregated housing on campus, Wesleyan officials have made efforts to encourage interaction between the different program houses. The ethnocultural and interest houses are appraised every three years, and program houses are asked to describe their purposes and how they achieve these goals. One of the expectations for all houses is that they will conduct co-house programming. While the university does not set up the interactive efforts, its encouragement has led to some student-led interaction. For example, the Malcolm X House and the Bayit House have had meetings to discuss Black-Jewish relations.

While the University of Maryland does not maintain any program houses, many students feel that self-segregation abounds on campus. While the university is reputed to be one of the nation's most diverse campuses, many feel that there is little interaction between people of different races, ethnicities, and backgrounds. The university's black, Jewish, and Asian student union organizations traditionally have rarely interacted with each other.

During the 1994-95 school year, a group of students decided to develop a student union that would bring all of the groups together. Entitled "United Cultures," the group seeks to foster improved relations between the groups and to serve as a place where students of all backgrounds can get to know one another. Advocating this type of program, Troy Duster argues that true diversity does not mean "you break down themed dormitories or stop funding the black student union. It means you send a message you can support programs that try to cut across ethnic and racial lines."[44]

CONCLUSION

The college or university campus is more than a microcosm of society. The ivory towers of college campuses buttress America's future, for their students will be tomorrow's decision makers. Many Americans prize the nation's diversity, but fail to agree on the meaning of diversity.

While the integration model is too confining, the multicultural model is too polarizing. Integrating housing at universities where there is a demand for self-segregated residence halls can be expected to exacerbate racial, ethnic, and religious tensions, without yielding the desired consequences of curtailing separatism. The diverse campus must, however, be bound by an overarching unity. Especially in the classroom, but also in other activities sponsored by the university, cooperative learning can help forge such unity. The diversity within unity model is most likely to preserve cultural identities while fostering better intergroup relations.

Following the diversity within unity model, universities may benefit by experimenting with housing and residential life policies. Context makes all the difference. At universities where there is severe polarization, integrative policies need to be encouraged. But at universities where minority students are engulfed in the dominant culture, programs that support minority group programs should be nourished. Most importantly, universities need to earnestly examine and evaluate the consequences of their housing policies in order to foster a shared future.

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